

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 GENEVA 09707 160714Z
ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W
----- 023556 /11
O 061950Z DEC 76
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4037

S E C R E T GENEVA 9707

NODIS

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (PARA 3 GARBLED)

FOR SCHAUFLE FROM WISNER

DEPT PASS LONDON FOR SEITZ

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PFOR RH UK
SUBJ: DEADLOCK IN NAMIBIA

1. MARK CHONA CALLED ME THIS MORNING IN LONDON TO SAY THAT HE HAD AN URGENT MESSAGE TO DELIVER. SHORTLY AFTER MY RETURN TO GENEVA, CHONA CAME TO THE MISSION.

2. CHONA REPORTED THAT HE HAD BEEN ON THE TELEPHONE WITH PRESIDENT KAUNDA AND, AMONG OTHER SUBJECTS, THEY DISCUSSED THE SITUATION IN NAMIBIA. CHONA WAS IN A GLOOMY STATE AS HE RECOUNTED KAUNDA'S MESSAGE. KAUNDA TOLD HIM THAT SAM NUJOMA IS EFFECTIVELY IN LUANDA EVEN THOUGH HE MAKES TRIPS FROM TIME TO TIME TO OTHER AFRICAN CAPITALS INCLUDING LAGOS. NUJOMA HAS BEEN IN CLOSE TOUCH WITH THE SOVIETS AND THE CUBANS AND IS "A CAPTIVE OF THE PROGRAM THEY HAVE FOR HIM." NEITHER THE SOVIETS NOR NUJOMA CARE ABOUT INDEPENDENCE COMING TO NAMIBIA ON DEC 31, 1978. THE QUESTION, CHONA SAID, IS "NOT WHEN INDEPENDENCE COMES, BUT HOW IT COMES." IN EFFECT, NUJOMA HAS MADE HIS MIND UP THAT SOUTH AFRICAN CAN BE DRIVEN OUT OF NAMIBIA AND SINCE HE IS PERSUADED THAT THIS IS THE CASE, HE IS NOW INTERESTED IN HOW HE AND SWAPO CAN IMPOSE THEIR DISCIPLINE ON THE DIVIDED PEOPLES

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 GENEVA 09707 160714Z

OF NAMIBIA. SECOND, NUJOMA IS THINKING ABOUT HOW HE CAN

CONFRONT THE SOUTH AFRICANS AND FORCE THEM TO GIVE UP WALVIS BAY. THIRD, NUJOMA HAS DECIDED HE WILL HAVE TO FACE THE SOUTH AFRICANS ON THE SOUTHERN BORDER. SOVIET ARMS AND CUBAN TROOPS MAY BE NECESSARY FOR ALL THREE PURPOSES.

3. ACCORDING TO CHONA, KAUNDA FEELS THAT THE SOVIETS HAVE BEEN REFINING THEIR PLANNING FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA. THEY BELIEVE THAT GENEVA IS DOOMED AND CAN ONCE AGAIN LOOK TO DEVELOPING A TRANSCONTINENTAL BLOCK, WHICH WILL INCLUDE ANGOLA AND NAMIBIA, MOZAMBIQUE AND ZIMBABWE. CHONA WAS GLOOMY ABOUT ZAMBIA'S FUTURE WHEN FACED WITH THESE PRESSURES. IF THE WAR GOES ON IN ZIMBABWE AND SMITH BEGINS HIS RADIS INTO ZMBIA THE ZMBIANS WILL HAVE TO ALL FOR ARMS. THEY KNOW THEY CAN GET NO HELP FROM THE US OR GREAT BRITAIN AND WILL HAVE TO TURN TO THE SOVIETS. UNDER NO CONDITIONS CAN KAUNDA MODERATE HIS SUPPORT TO THE NATIONALISTS AS THEY BEGIN TO CARRY THE STUGGLE FROM ZAMBIA INTO RHODESIA.

4. THE SOVIETS ARE MOVING NOW, SAID CHONA. HIS GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN INFORMED THAT A VERY HIGH RANKING SOVIET OFFICIAL WILL VISIT EAST AND WEST AFRICA IN JANUARY. CHONA UNDERSTANDS THE VISITOR MAY BE PODGORNYY. THE SOVIET'S VISIT MAY BEGIN IN ANGOLA OR WEST AFRICA BUT IT WILL CONTINUE INTO MOZAMBIQUE, TANZANIA AND ZAMBIA. KUANDA WILL HAVE TO RECEIVE HIM. DURING THE SOVIET'S VISIT, CHONA FELT THERE WOULD BE MAJOR ANNOUNCEMENTS OF SOVIET ASSISTANCE. MACHEL, CHONA SAID, IS DELIGHTED BY SOME OF THE RECENT AND MORE SOPHISTICATED FORMS OF SOVIET ARMS WHICH HE HAS RECEIVED AND WANTS MORE. (CHONA CALLED ME AFTER OUR MEETING TO SAY THAT THE VISIT OF THE SOVIET IS "IN THE PLANNING PHASE" AND HE SIMPLY WANTED TO ALERT US TO THE PLAN SO THAT WE COULD CHECK OUR OWN SOURCES).

5. RETURNING TO NAMIBIA, CHONA DISPAIRED OF ANY REASONABLE POSSIBILITIES OF CATCHING NUMOMA'S ATTENTION. THERE ARE EVEN MEMBERS OF HIS CENTRAL COMMITTEE WHO, "BECAUSE OF THE LONG DELAY" HAVE BEEN CAUGHT UP IN THE SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 GENEVA 09707 160714Z

HEROICS OF NUJOMA'S EXERCISE. IT IS CONCEIVABLE THAT WALDHEIM COULD INVITE NUJOMA TO NEW YORK AND SAY THAT THE UN IS PREPARED TO CONVENE THE CONFERENCE. IN ORDER TO GET OVER NJOMA'S POINT THAT SOUTH AFRICA MUST BE PRESENT, WALDHEIM MIGHT ARGUE THAT SINCE THE UN IS THE LEGAL AUTHORITY IN NAMIBIA AND SOUTH AFRICA IS ILLEGAL, THE UN CANNOT INVITE SOUTH AFRICA TO BE PRESENT IN THE NAMIBIAN CONFERENCE HALL. IT WOULD BE ESSENTIAL

FOR WALDHEIM TO SAY THAT THE CONFERENCE WAS SQUARELY UNDER UN AUTHORITY IF HIS ARGUMENTS WERE TO CARRY ANY WEIGHT. IN ANY EVENT, CHONA WAS NOT OPTIMISTIC THAT NUJOMA WOULD AGREE. A MORE USEFUL APPROACH, HE FELT, COULD BE UNDERTAKEN ONCE THE GENEVA CONFERENCE IS OVER AND ON THE CONDITION THAT IT IS SUCCESSFULLY COMPLETED. NYERERE AND KAUNDA WOULD BE ABLE TO USE THEIR INFLUENCE WITHIN AFRICA AND WITH NUJOMA AND HIS CENTRAL COMMITTEE DIRECTLY TO SAY THAT A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT CAN BE SUCCESSFUL. IF GENEVA FAILS, HOWEVER, THE PRESIDENTS WILL NOT BE ABLE TO STEER NUJOMA IN A MORE MODERATE DIRECTION. TO SAVE GENEVA, IT IS ESSENTIAL, HE SAID, THAT THE BRITISH MAKE A DRAMATIC MOVE NOW, DECLARE THEIR INTENTION TO REPLACE THE COUNCIL OF STATE WITH A BRITISH PRESENCE AND SKILLFULLY MANAGE THE CONFERENCE TO A SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION BEFORE DEC 20.

6. CHONA WAS CRITICAL OF RICHARD AND GRENNAN, IN PARTICULAR, AND FELT THAT THE WAY THAT THEY WERE CONDUCTING THEMSELVES WAS LEADING THE NATIONALISTS TO CONCLUDE THEY AND THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT WERE NOT PREPARED TO TAKE A TOUGH DECISION. CHONA HAD BEEN ON THE PHONE TO MAJOR FIGURES IN THE CONSERVATIVE HIERARCHY URGING THEM TO PUT PRESSURE ON THE LABOR GOVERNMENT. HE HAD REMINDED THE CONSERVATIVES OF THE SOVIET THREAT, CHONA NOTED THAT IF THE CONFERENCE BREAKS UP ON DEC 20 WITHOUT A SUCCESSFUL OUTCOME, THE NATIONALISTS WILL EITHER NOT RETURN TO GENEVA OR THOSE WHO COME BACK WILL PRESS IMPOSSIBLE NEW DEMANDS. A BRITISH SUBSTITUTE FOR THE COUNCIL OF STATE WILL NO LONGER SUCCESSFULLY CARRY THE DAY. ONCE THE NATIONALISTS REACH LUSAKA, THE ACTIVE "KGB" SOVIET AMBASSADOR WILL BRING HIS FULL
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 GENEVA 09707 160714Z

INFLUENCE TO BEAR. HE WILL REMIND THE NATIONALISTS THAT IF THEY WAIT A BIT LONGER THEIR FONDEST DREAMS WILL BE FULFILLED DURING THE VISIT OF THE SENIOR SOVIET OFFICIALS.

7. CHONA REPLAYED HIS WELL-WORN ARGUMENTS ON POWER SHARING. I ASSURED HIM THAT HIS ARGUMENTS HAD BEEN FULLY REPORTED TO WASHINGTON AND HE SEEMED RELIEVED. NEVERTHELESS, HE ARGUED, IF A DECISION DOES NOT COME WITHIN THE WEEK, GENEVA IS HEADED FOR A DISASTER AND NAMIBIA WILL GO DOWN AS WELL.

8. EVEN THOUGH CHONA IS MARSHALLING EVERY ARGUMENT TO WIN OUR SUPPORT FOR HIS VIEW OF POWER SHARING BY CITING THE SOVIET THREAT, HE CONVINCED ME HE WAS REPORTING KAUNDA'S VIEWS AND CONCERNS AS WELL. NUJOMA'S

UNWILLINGNESS TO RETURN TO LUSAKA, HIS PROLONGED STAY
IN LUANDA, SWAPO-MPLA COOPERATION IN SOUTHERN ANGOLA
(WHICH CHONA CONFIRMED) LEAD ME TO CONCLUDE THAT HIS
ESTIMATE OF SOVIET INTENTIONS NEEDS TO BE TAKEN

SERIOUSLY.CATTO

SECRET

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: SPHERE OF INFLUENCE, INDEPENDENCE, DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS, THREATS, SELFDETERMINATION, CAT-B
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 06 DEC 1976
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: saccheem
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976GENEVA09707
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: X1
Errors: N/A
Film Number: P840096-2580
From: GENEVA
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t19761270/aaaacisc.tel
Line Count: 175
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION NODS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: NODIS
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: NODIS
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: saccheem
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 14 MAY 2004
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <14 MAY 2004 by woolflhd>; APPROVED <07 SEP 2004 by saccheem>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: DEADLOCK IN NAMIBA
TAGS: PFOR, PDEV, RH, UK, WA, ZA, UR, SWAPO, (CHONA, MARK), (NUJOMA, SAM)
To: STATE SS LONDON
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006